

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 5-11-64

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
 APPEARANCE ON "FACE THE NATION"  
 SUNDAY, MAY 10, 1964,  
 12:30 P.M., CHANNEL 9, WTOP-TV

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Captioned individual is President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and was interviewed by a panel of reporters on captioned program.

REFERENCES TO THE DIRECTOR:

King was asked about communist infiltration of the Negro civil rights movement. He said that to him infiltration implied that a large number of communists would be found in leadership positions or on a policy-making level. This is not the case in the civil rights movement.

He went on to say that communism is not freedom but rather is totalitarian in nature. Consequently, communism is incompatible with the civil rights movement. He said that if there were communists in the movement, he would like to know so he could get rid of them. He admitted that there may be one or two individuals who drift into Negro organizations but they are certainly not holding down jobs of leadership.

He was asked about the Director's recently released statement to the effect that some communists were participating in the movement. He said again that this was not true and that it was "unfortunate that such a great man as J. Edgar Hoover" would "aid rightists" by such a statement. He said he would hope rather that the FBI would come out with a statement to the effect that it was amazing that so few Negroes, in view of the treatment they have received, have turned to communism.

REC-49 100-106670-361  
 MAY 18 1964

He said that the Justice Department had informed him concerning only one communist known to be participating in King's organization and King said that when given this information he promptly expelled this man from the organization.

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
 1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - Mr. Sullivan

CJH:jol (7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

53 MAY 22 1964

DATE 6-20-80 BY SP4 JAM/LL

6074

M. A. Jones to DeLoach Memo  
RE: REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

OTHER COMMENTS:

He indicated that Negro organizations still plan demonstrations in Alabama to "expose the hypocrisy of Governor Wallace" and that other demonstrations will occur elsewhere whether or not current civil rights legislation passes Congress. He explained that even with the passage of the pending bill, it will still be necessary to enforce these new laws and he felt that demonstrations would be necessary to insure this.

He expressed surprise that some Justice Department officials and Senators had indicated they were no longer going to maintain the strong positions they had taken on civil rights legislation just a few weeks ago and that they now appeared ready to compromise and agree to "crippling proposals" being advanced by Senator Dirksen.

He said that if the Presidential election was held today, President Johnson would carry the South with few exceptions. He said there is a definite danger that the Republican Party will become the "white man's party" unless liberals within that organization assert leadership.

He hedged on previous statements attributed to him that there would be demonstrations in Washington if the civil rights bill appeared to be in trouble and he admitted that no plans had been made for such demonstrations as of this time.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

May 11, 1964

6076

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Rosen  
1-Mr. Mohr  
1-Mr. McGowan  
1-Mr. DeLoach  
1-Mr. Evans  
1-Mr. Sullivan  
1-Mr. Bland  
1-Mr. Baumgardner

Martin Luther King, Jr., appeared as the guest on the 5-10-64 Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) television program "Face the Nation." Paul Niven was moderator; panelists were Benjamin Bradley of "Newsweek" and Dan Raver. We had prior information that this program was arranged with King by Marquis Childs of CBS. Only about the last five minutes of this 3-hour program were devoted to the subject of communist influence in the racial movement. The following comments were made by King in response to questions put to him.

Niven opened this phase of the program by stating that it had been alleged that King has been slow to sever ties with the communists even after warnings to do so by the Government. King responded by stating he was glad the question was asked. He then went on to state that communism is based on things that he could never accept and that there is a provision in the constitution of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) which says that no communist can be a member. King claimed that he was very vigilant in enforcing this provision of the constitution of his organization. King claimed that there has only been one case (he did not mention the name) and in that instance asked for the resignation of the man. King acknowledged that one or two communists might "drift" into his organization but there is definitely no infiltration. When King was asked as to possible infiltration in the civil rights movement in general, he gave the same reply as he did for the SCLC by stating that a communist may drift into the movement but there is definitely no infiltration. By infiltration he explained he meant having people at a policy-making level. When one of the panelists stated that King's position is in opposition to the head of the FBI, King replied that it was unfortunate that such a great man as Mr. Hoover has led himself to make such an allegation as was done regarding communist influence in the Negro movement. He said that he had hoped the FBI would come out and say that it is amazing that so few Negroes have become communists. King was asked if the Justice Department had told him of anyone to remove from his organization that he has not followed through on. He remarked that there was only one and he removed that individual.

100-3-116

1 - Bufile 100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

NOT RECORDED

170 MAY 19 1964

MAY 22 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b7(c)

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-116

Comment:

King's obvious reference was to the "removal" of Hunter Pitts O'Dell from the SCLC. As expected, King lied about being warned of anyone else because he had been warned about Stanley Levison and has nevertheless maintained a close association with Levison. *OS*

Most of the program was devoted to the general subject of civil rights and the civil rights bill pending in the Senate. The following information was developed during the questioning of King.

There will continue to be demonstrations whether or not the bill passes as its passage is only one step; there must be demonstrations to test compliance. King has not discussed the matter of demonstrations with the White House. He said he was appalled at efforts by the Government to emasculate the bill; refused to name Government officials but said they included those of the Justice Department. King has talked with Senate leaders regarding the bill but not during the past few weeks; he plans to talk to these leaders in the next few days. King claimed that he and the other principal Negro leaders have conferred and want the bill as passed by the House. They will not compromise on important sections of the bill; he feels it would be better to have no bill at all than have the important sections deleted..

King said he plans to attend both national party conventions this summer and will be active in connection with the seating of delegates. His movement may lead a march at these conventions. King believes that if the Presidential elections were held today, President Johnson would carry the South overwhelmingly. He does not intend to campaign for any candidate and does not know yet whether or not he will publicly endorse anyone. He never has in the past. He believes that the vast majority of the people are in favor of the civil rights bill. He said that there is a danger that the Republican Party may become the "white man's party" in this country. He would definitely not endorse Senator Goldwater. He plans on some "direct" action in the event the bill is watered down but has made no final decision as to the type of action. He has no plans for another march on Washington this year and stated he is not at liberty to say what type of action is to take place. He emphasized, however, that he is not saying there will be drastic civil disobedience; it will be of a nonviolent nature.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

~~Secret~~

~~SECRET~~

1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Sullivan  
1-Mr. Tamm  
1-Mr. Rosen  
1-Mr. Lavin  
1-Mr. Forsyth  
1-Mr. Floyd  
1-Mr. Liaison  
1-Mr. Haack

December 7, 1962

BY COURIER SERVICE

97777

REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI  
DEC 7 3 48 PM '62

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. O'Donnell:

On December 4, 1962, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that on that date Stanley Levison had a discussion with a New York attorney named William Kuntzler. Kuntzler told Levison that the ticket sales for the affair to be held at the Westchester County Center in White Plains, New York, on December 11, 1962, would increase daily and that the box-office sales on that night should be good. This affair will feature entertainers Sammy Davis, Jr., and Peter Lawford and will benefit the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which Martin Luther King, Jr., is the President. Levison remarked to Kuntzler that he should make suggestions to King for King's speech to be made at the affair.

Kuntzler and Levison then discussed the segregation problem in Jackson, Mississippi. Kuntzler said he had been in Jackson four weeks ago and had fired up the Negro community when he spoke in seven different places concerning segregation problems. Kuntzler also said a picket line has been planned which will be composed of white and Negro individuals and will be followed by a massive Christmas boycott.

100-106670  
SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

IDH:mtb  
(11)

~~SECRET~~  
EXCLUDED from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

DEC 10 1962

DEC 13 1962

Classified By 6080  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

BY COURIER SVC.  
98 DEC 10  
COMM-FBI

CLASS. & EXT. BY 5102/PCS/LEW  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 12-7-82

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

97778

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell

Kuntsler then told Levison he hopes to have King duplicate the walk made by William Seward on January 1, 1863, from Lafayette Square to the White House with the Emancipation Proclamation. Kuntsler plans for King to make the same walk on January 1, 1963, at which time he will be presented with a check for \$35,000 at the White House to be used for the Ghandi Society for Human Rights. This check, according to Kuntsler, will symbolize that now the Negro has become full grown. Kuntsler said he would like to have Carl Sandburg or Robert Frost accompany King on this walk; however, he has already determined that Sandburg has prior commitments. Levison stated he does not like the idea of a check being presented but Kuntsler remarked that he does not believe the President will be at the White House on New Year's Day and said he thinks they can get an okay to walk into the White House.

Stanley David Levison, who recently organized the Ghandi Society for Human Rights in King's name, has been described by an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past as a secret member of the Communist Party.

William M. Kunstler, who may be identical with the William Kuntsler mentioned above, is a member of the firm Kunstler and Kunstler, 511 Fifth Avenue, New York City; has been an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union; and has, in the past, acted as the legal representative of several "freedom riders" in Mississippi.

This matter is being classified "Secret" in view of the sensitive nature of the sources.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Note continued.

- 2 -

SECRET

To \_\_\_\_\_ From \_\_\_\_\_ 11/21/62  
SAC, New York (100-136585) Director, FBI (100-106670)

Subject: Martin Luther King  
IS - C

Reference: Cover pages of SA \_\_\_\_\_ dated \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_  
Report of SA \_\_\_\_\_ dated \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_  
Letterhead memo \_\_\_\_\_ dated 11/15/62 at New York  
Letter dated \_\_\_\_\_ from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_  
Teletype dated \_\_\_\_\_ from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_  
Airtel dated \_\_\_\_\_ from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Your mail dispatch of \_\_\_\_\_, registry number \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Nonsubstantive Error - notify appropriate personnel; make notation in error folder; and consider in next performance ratings. Consider employees' work records as to any needed action.

☐ Substantive Error - explain in detail on form to be attached, supply with explanations and recommendations.

Take appropriate action in connection with error in subject matter checked below

☐ 1. Administrative Data

- ☐ a. Failed to submit letterhead memo re subject who is Government employee  
☐ b. Omission of "Property of FBI" statement on letterhead memo  
☐ c. Reason for protecting source not given  
☐ d. Pretext not described  
☐ e. Documentation re FISUR Agents omitted  
☐ f. Failure to meet 5-day reporting rule after arrest

☐ 2. Delayed

- ☐ a. Investigation ☐ c. Transcription  
☐ b. Dictation ☐ d. Reporting

☐ 3. O.O. incorrect (O.O. is \_\_\_\_\_)

☐ 4. Reporting office

☐ 5. Date of communication

☐ 6. Investigative period

☐ 7. Title

- ☐ a. Incomplete ☐ d. Incorrectly ☐ e. Fugitive  
☐ b. Misspelled ☐ 1. Changed ☐ 1. Omitted  
☐ c. Omitted ☐ 2. Carried ☐ 2. Incorrectly carried  
☐ 1. I.O. No.  
☐ 2. Wanted Flyer No.  
☐ 3. Check Circular No.

☐ 8. Character

- ☐ a. Incomplete ☐ b. Incorrect ☐ c. Omitted

☐ 9. Synopsis

- ☐ a. Incomplete or inadequate  
☐ b. Facts not in detail or vice versa  
☐ c. Fails to show  
☐ 1. Owner notified  
☐ 2. Employed key facility  
☐ 3. Has access classified data at key facility  
☐ d. Recovery value not set out  
☐ e. "Caution" statement  
☐ 1. Omitted  
☐ 2. Failure to delete

☐ 10. Status

- ☐ a. Incorrect ☐ b. Omitted

☐ 11. Not approved by SAC (original returned for approval and forwarding)

☐ 12. Copies

- ☐ a. Not legible  
☐ b. Not furnished  
☐ 1. Auxiliary office  
☐ 2. U. S. Attorney  
☐ 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ c. Incorrect no. of copies to  
☐ 1. Bureau  
☐ 2. \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ d. Reason for information copy

☐ 13. Bufile Number should be \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ a. Incorrectly reported  
☐ b. Files consolidated at Bureau

☐ 14. Details

- ☐ a. No description  
☐ b. Stops in travel  
☐ c. Subject in custody, complaint and warrant issued but immediate hearing before USC not reported  
☐ d. Delay in receiving information from P.D. indicates lack of police liaison  
☐ e. Incomplete reporting  
☐ f. Administrative data in details  
☐ g. Incorrect code section cited  
☐ h. Failed to  
☐ 1. Take sworn statement  
☐ 2. Show employed key facility  
☐ 3. Show date information received  
☐ 4. Show name of Agent conducting interview  
☐ 5. Show has access classified data at key facility  
☐ i. Characterization omitted  
☐ j. "Place" omitted in jurat of sworn statement  
☐ k. Form \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ 1. Incomplete  
☐ 2. Incorrect  
☐ l. No indication U. S. Marshal notified

☐ 15. Enclosures

- ☐ a. Not received ☐ c. Not submitted  
☐ b. Not described ☐ 1. Disposition Sheet  
☐ 2. Probation Flash

☒ 16. Security Classification

- ☐ a. Incorrect ☐ c. Not classified  
☐ b. Declassify ☐ d. Reason not shown

☐ 17. Undeveloped Leads

- ☐ a. Not set out ☐ b. Too vague

☐ 18. Informants

- ☐ a. FBI No. not given ☐ e. Date of FBI Identification  
☐ b. 45-day contact missed ☐ Division record check not listed  
☐ c. Incorrect T symbol ☐ f. Failed to submit evaluation  
☐ d. Not identified ☐ memo

☐ 19. Reference

- ☐ a. Incorrect ☐ b. Omitted

☐ 20. Abstract

☐ 21. Form FD-122

☐ 22. Misspelling, page \_\_\_\_\_

☐ 23. Typographical error

☐ 24. Incorrect use of

- ☐ a. Airtel  
☐ b. Teletype

☐ 25. Resubmit promptly in form suitable for dissemination

☐ 26. Parole Report

- ☐ a. Not submitted  
☐ b. Violation block incorrect

☐ 27. Incorrect date(s)

☐ 28. Miscellaneous

☐ 29. Bureau mailing instructions, Manual of Rules and Regulations, Part II, Section 3, item e. \_\_\_\_\_ not followed.

Remarks:

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 JMM/ML  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 11-21-82

Classified by 6089  
Declassify on: OADR, Category 2  
Date of review for declassification: Indefinite  
11/21/82

(5)

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SECRET

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED P

FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2

DECLASSIFICATION

SP4 JAM/12

12-21-84

12-4-80

6076

[REDACTED]

December 21, 1964

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought the President would be interested in the following information concerning the personal conduct of Martin Luther King, Jr., which has been furnished by confidential sources of this Bureau who have supplied reliable information in the past. U

[REDACTED]

100-106670

1 - 100-442529

(CIRN)

SECRET

CTP:k1b/rhm .21  
(13)

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

SENT DIRECTOR

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RECEIVED

*primary decision*

b7(c)

100-106670-650

DEC 26 1964

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy



~~SECRET~~


Honorable Bill D. Moyers

This information is also being furnished to the Acting Attorney General and other officials of the Department of Justice. U

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

See memorandum Sullivan to Belmont dated 12/21/64, captioned "Communism and the Negro Movement--A Current Analysis," prepared by TPR:rbm. U



C

b(1)

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 12-1-64

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Portions of attached memo  
excised according to  
Court order and forwarded  
to National Archives  
RH 5/4/77 6-1

In connection with the Director's contemplated meeting with captioned individual, attached is background material for the Director's information that deals with the more salient points regarding King's background and his criticism of the FBI over the past several years. U

## RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Tolson - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Belmont - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Mohr - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure
- 1 - Miss Gandy - Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-5-90 BY SP4 JRM/ML  
6076

JMM:HHA; DWB; GWG; DGH; FCS; ELC:jol

(9)

REC-9

ACT-47 100-106670-647

/ ENCLOSURE

21 DEC 18 1964

Excised portions  
not considered under  
present classification  
excised 12/2/77  
CRIME RESEARCH

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Excised portions not  
considered under present  
classification.  
leaves 12/2/77

CL  
F  
D

6080

leaves 12/2/77

X

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Born Michael King, January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia, he was the son of a Baptist minister and rechristened by his father (who, at the same time, renamed himself Martin Luther King, Sr.) at the age of two. ✓

*11/1/57* King received an A.B. degree, Morehouse College, 1948; L.H.D. degree in 1957 from the same University; he attended Crozer Theological Seminary in 1951; received a Ph.D. degree from Boston University in 1955; received D.D. degree in 1959 from Boston University; he received other theological degrees from Howard University in 1957 and Morgan State college in 1958. ✓

He married Coretta Scott on June 17, 1953. His children are Yolanda Denise and Martin Luther King, III. U

12-5-80  
CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY *SP4 JRM/ML*  
REASON FOR EXTENSION *2*  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION *12-1-84*  
*6076*

## COMMUNIST BACKGROUND AND AFFILIATIONS

[REDACTED]

b(1)

S

In King's rise to national prominence, he has been closely allied with the communists. He has shown not only a willingness but even an eagerness to accept communist aid, to support communist causes and to work closely with and rely upon the advice and guidance of dedicated communists with concealed affiliations, despite the fact that they have been identified reliably to him as such. U

Among individuals with communist backgrounds with whom King has associated is Stanley David Levison. Levison has dedicated a part of his life to advancing the communist cause in this country. Levison has been instrumental in providing financial assistance to King, in giving personal advice and helping him organize his activities. The two have been observed personally meeting on a number of occasions since November, 1963. As of October 30, 1964, plans were underway for a personal meeting of King and Clarence Jones with Levison which was to take place in the near future in Atlanta. Levison's contacts with King have mainly been handled through an intermediary, Clarence Jones, who is also a frequent adviser to King. Jones is General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). [REDACTED]

b(1)

[REDACTED] As recently as November 24, 1964, King contacted Jones and asked that Jones and Levison, among others, submit five-minute speeches which King could use in accepting the Nobel Peace Prize. King would select the best material from these speeches.

[REDACTED]

b(1)

[REDACTED] S b(1)  
In 1961, O'Dell was made administrator of the SCLC's New York Office. In addition, two other Party members, Hazel Gray and Loretta Pauker, worked there under O'Dell at one time or another. Later, O'Dell worked for King's group in Atlanta, Georgia, using the name J. H. O'Dell. But in October, 1962, several newspaper articles exposed his connection with the SCLC and his communist affiliations. King reacted by trying to minimize O'Dell's role with his organization and pretended ignorance of O'Dell's communist affiliations. King said O'Dell had temporarily resigned pending an inquiry. Later, the resignation became permanent, not, as King put it, because the SCLC inquiry had disclosed any present connections between O'Dell and the Communist Party but because of the emotional public response. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b(1)  
S

Another key King adviser with a communist background is Bayard Rustin, the former Young Communist League member, who at one time was Assistant Secretary of the SCLC. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] U b7(c)  
Actually, King is a hypocrite, a fraud and a cheat who, under the guise of religion and patriotism, is deceiving millions of Americans. U

December 1, 1964

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S CRITICISM OF THE  
DIRECTOR AND FBI

CURRENT ATTACK:

On November 19, 1964, Martin Luther King, Jr., sent a telegram from Atlanta to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover concerning Mr. Hoover's remarks to the press the previous day. Set forth below is an analysis of this telegram. U

King States: He has questioned the FBI's effectiveness but has never attributed this merely to the presence of Southerners in the FBI. U

Facts: In November, 1962, in discussing racial disturbances in Albany, Georgia, King was widely quoted in the press as stating that one of the greatest problems regarding the FBI in the South is that the Agents are white Southerners who have been influenced by the mores of the community. This is, of course, absolutely false, and it is noted that four of the five Agents then assigned to Albany, Georgia, were Northerners. U

King States: Not a single arrest was made in Albany, Georgia, during the many brutalities against Negroes. U

Facts: During the summer of 1962, there was a continuing series of mass racial meetings, marches and demonstrations by Negroes in the Albany, Georgia, area. This resulted in numerous multiple arrests of Negroes for lying down in the street, blocking traffic and disorderly conduct. During this period, numerous allegations of civil rights violations were made to FBI Agents and Department of Justice officials. In every instance the Department of Justice was advised of the complaint and the results of any investigation conducted. Any additional investigation requested by the Department was immediately and thoroughly run out and the results furnished to the Department. The Department of Justice did not see fit to prosecute any of the incidents arising out of these demonstrations. U

During this same period, however, prosecution was brought against Denver Edgar Short, Jr., Deputy Marshal, Sasser, Georgia, which is about 20 miles from Albany. Short allegedly intimidated voter registration workers on August 30, 1962, and FBI investigation developed that Short cursed the victims, ordered them out of town and fired his gun in the direction of their tires. A U. S. District Court Petit Jury acquitted Short of civil rights charges on January 25, 1963. ✓

It is also noted that on 9-17-62, FBI Agents arrested four white subjects in the vicinity of the I Hope Baptist church, a Negro church near Dawson, Georgia, and about 30 miles from Albany, which had been burned that day. In the absence of a Federal violation, confessions obtained by FBI Agents were made available to local authorities resulting in a seven year sentence for each of the three adult subjects and three years probation for the fourth subject who was a juvenile. ✓

On 10-4-62 FBI Agents arrested Jack Phelix Smith and a detainer was placed against Douglas Howard Parker, a state prisoner, on civil rights charges in connection with the burning of the Shady Grove Baptist Church near Leesburg, Georgia, on 8-15-62. This was a Negro church approximately 12 miles from Albany. Smith and Parker are white. A Federal Grand Jury failed to indict, and FBI evidence was made available to state officials who presented the case to a local grand jury which also returned a no bill. ✓

King States: Not a single arrest has been made in connection with the bombing in Birmingham or the three murdered civil rights workers in Mississippi. ✓

Facts: The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama, was bombed 9-15-63 killing four Negro children. The FBI immediately launched the most intensive type of investigation which is still vigorously continuing. This investigation was prejudiced by premature arrests made by the Alabama Highway Patrol, and consequently, it has not yet been possible to obtain evidence or confessions that would insure successful prosecution although the FBI has identified a small group of Klansmen believed to be responsible. ✓

The FBI launched a massive investigation following the disappearance of the three civil rights workers in the vicinity of Philadelphia, Mississippi, on June 21, 1964. The FBI located their bodies in an earthen dam and has developed information identifying those responsible. Intensive investigation is continuing to develop the case for prosecution as quickly as possible. ✓



It should be noted that FBI recent investigations in Mississippi have produced the following positive results: (1) Eleven arrests in McComb on state charges involving bombings and other violence. Nine of those arrested have pleaded guilty or nolo contendere and received probationary sentences; (2) Seven arrests in Natchez on state charges involving shooting incidents and a beating; (3) Two subjects arrested on state murder charges 11/6/64 in connection with the killing of Henry Hezekiah Dee and Charlie Eddie Moore; (4) Seven arrests for racial violence by the Sheriff of Pike County who stated this resulted from his success in practicing FBI methods he observed during the FBI's recent investigations; and (5) FBI Agents have arrested five present and former law enforcement officers in Neshoba County on charges of police brutality. They are presently awaiting trial. L

King States: FBI Agents work with local officers on criminal cases making it difficult for them to effectively function where Negroes are threatened. L

Facts: This is a shopworn canard, the falsity of which is clearly illustrated by the FBI's currently effective cooperation with local officers in Mississippi, FBI's arrest of five officers in Neshoba County, Mississippi, FBI's effective cooperation with local officers in the Georgia church burning investigations, the Penn murder case and many other cases in all parts of the country. L

King States: He has no record of a request from the Director to meet with him. L

Facts: In November, 1962, FBI officials sought to make an appointment with King to straighten him out with regard to his public remarks concerning the FBI's performance in Albany, Georgia. King was never available on the telephone and left instructions with his secretary on 11/28/62 that he would call the FBI when he was willing to arrange an interview. He made no further response. L

King States: He has always made himself available to Atlanta FBI Agents. L

Facts: In July, 1961, it was necessary for the FBI to contact King in connection with a special inquiry investigation for the Peace Corps. An appointment was made through King's secretary for his interview 7/22/61; however, King kept the FBI Agent waiting for one hour past the appointed time and stated he was behind in his paper work and had completed some of it before admitting the Agent. L

In June, 1962, the FBI made efforts to obtain an appointment with King in connection with a case involving a Peace Corps applicant. Beginning on approximately 6/5/62, King's secretary kept stating that he was not available for interview although it was known to the FBI that he was in his office daily. On 6/8/62 Wyatt T. Walker, King's assistant, advised the Atlanta Office that he and King were proceeding to Shreveport, Louisiana, in connection with the voter registration drive and that the Little Union Baptist Church in Shreveport had received a bomb threat. At that time, Walker was informed that FBI Agents had been urgently trying to make an appointment with King and Walker stated an appointment would be made. On 6-8-62, King telephoned the Atlanta Office from Shreveport to inquire as to why the Agent wanted an appointment and to advise of the bomb threat previously furnished by Walker. King consented to interview which was conducted 6-9-62. L

King was also interviewed by the Atlanta FBI Office on 7-24-62 in connection with racial incidents at Albany, Georgia, involving alleged violation by King of a temporary restraining order issued by the U. S. District Court to stop demonstrations. The interview was conducted in the U. S. courtroom where King had appeared for a hearing. L

On 11-30-62, when FBI Headquarters officials were attempting to arrange an interview with King, the Atlanta FBI Office contacted King's secretary to make such an appointment at King's convenience. The Agent was advised that King was writing a book and could not be reached. King's secretary was requested to have King contact the Atlanta Office on an urgent matter but he never made such a contact. L

On 6-25-63 the Atlanta FBI Office attempted to contact King to advise him of a threat against his life. Efforts to contact him were at first unsuccessful, but after a delay of some hours, King's secretary informed him of the Bureau's interest in talking to him and arrangements were made for an Agent to contact King by telephone. L

In connection with this whole matter, it should be kept in mind that the FBI's function is purely investigative in nature. It is not empowered to offer protection to anyone, at any place, at any time. L

#### PREVIOUS ATTACKS:

Generally, King's previous attacks against the Director and the FBI in the civil rights field have been similar to those outlined above. As an example is the criticism carried in The New York Times of November 19, 1962; in essence King claimed the FBI in Albany, Georgia, sides with the segregationists. He also said the FBI has not done an effective job in investigating beatings of Negroes in Georgia. His remarks were made after giving a sermon at the Riverside Baptist Church in New York City. L

December 1, 1964

ORGANIZATION OF THE CURRENT  
ATTACK AGAINST THE FBI BY  
MARTIN LUTHER KING

On November 19, 1964, the day after the Director's press conference, Martin Luther King, Jr., contacted his secretary, Dora McDonald, at the Atlanta, Georgia, office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), according to a reliable source. She told him his telegram to Mr. Hoover regarding the Director's criticism of King was going out to the press. King stated he wanted to issue a statesman-like "covering statement" in connection with the telegram. U

King declared the nature of the follow-up statement would be that he cannot conceive of Mr. Hoover's labeling King a liar unless he (Mr. Hoover) was under extreme pressure and apparently had faltered under the tremendous burdens, complexities and responsibilities of his office. King said he would state he cannot become involved in a public debate with Mr. Hoover and that he has nothing but sympathy for the Director who has served his country so well. King told his secretary the telegram and the statement will be the only comment he will personally issue in this matter. He told her Mr. Hoover should retire because he is "too old and broken down." U

King instructed his secretary to have Randolph T. Blackwell, Program Coordinator of SCLC, go over the press release and telegram. He stated the release should be given to those who are "for us," naming Catherine Johnson of Associated Press or United Press International, one Don McKee, and Ted Poston of the "New York Post." U

King later talked to his aide, Bernard Lee, the source advised, and told Lee to be sure all Negro news media get the release. He told Lee to call "Jet" magazine, a Negro publication, and to give a copy of the release to one John Herbert in New York. Lee told King, in answer to a question as to what was wrong with Mr. Hoover, that he thought the Director was getting old and is a "sacred cow." U

King directed Lee to have Bayard Rustin in New York and Walter Fauntroy, SCLC representative in Washington, D.C., contacted and told to start criticism of the FBI in those areas. He said he already had started in Miami, Florida. He instructed that Slater King, a civil rights leader in Albany, Georgia, should be contacted since he would welcome an opportunity to make a statement against the FBI and the Director. Blackwell did this later that day. King declared people in the western states who are SCLC members U

must be contacted to have them begin the attack against the FBI. King told Lee that telegrams to Mr. Hoover should also be sent to the President. U

King declared that Blackwell and Cordy T. Vivian, Director of Affiliates of SCLC, should handle the attack on the FBI so it would not appear that King was fighting the Director over a personal matter. He said the President should censure Mr. Hoover and it would be a good idea for all telegrams to the President to request this. U

On the same date, according to the source, King told Vivian this is the time to attack the whole FBI. He declared that he cannot be the one who does it, stating "we" need people in the South to make statements about the laxity of investigations and law enforcement, especially concerning civil rights. People in the North are needed to protest Mr. Hoover's charge against King. King suggested telegrams be sent to the President urging Mr. Hoover be censured and urging he be retired because "he is old and getting senile." U

The source reported Vivian suggested the attack be based on Mr. Hoover's ineffectiveness in civil rights; that he is past retirement age and would have been out last year except for certain people asking that he stay on. King disagreed, asserting he wanted Mr. Hoover "hit from all sides." U

Later on November 19, 1964, the source related that Wyatt Walker, a former SCLC executive now employed by a firm in New York City, contacted Vivian. He was told by Vivian to "get things going" in New York. Vivian told Walker to handle the east coast and said Tom Kilgore, an official of the Western Christian Leadership Conference in Los Angeles, California, was to handle the west coast. Vivian instructed Walker to get telegrams sent to the President, Department of Justice and the FBI demanding that Mr. Hoover apologize to King. U

Vivian told Walker that this is an opportunity to mount an attack against police brutality. He said the FBI will try to defend itself with the statement that it is an investigative agency and that people making the protests should know what to expect from the FBI. Vivian later contacted Kilgore and gave him similar instructions. U

According to a highly confidential Atlanta informant, one Reverend Hodge, location unknown, contacted Vivian and wanted methods SCLC was using against Hoover. Vivian advised SCLC files failed to indicate Hoover ever tried to contact King. Vivian gave Hodge the following points to get across concerning Hoover and the FBI: U

(1) FBI has been ineffective in that no persons have been brought to trial (In Albany only Negroes went to jail.); U

(2) FBI is only investigative arm which Vivian claims is ridiculous in that investigations have not been good enough for convictions and reports are available only to FBI and Department of Justice. (For example, one of SCLC staff members was shot at Greenville along with two other people and nothing was done about it.); U

(3) Hoover never tried to get in contact with King to verify statement; U

(4) King did not tell people not to contact FBI; U

(5) FBI has jurisdiction whenever civil liberties have been violated. Vivian claimed Director had no evidence to support Director's statements against King. Vivian further claimed King does not want to debate the Director but it is their job as subordinates to handle the criticism against Hoover and the FBI. Vivian claims the Director's statement concerning pressure groups is vague and full of generalities and Hoover is more interested in John Birch Society, Minutemen and Ku Klux Klan but will not attack them. Vivian claimed "we" had statements sent from all civil rights leaders to the President from James Farmer of CORE, Wilkins of NAACP and Jack Greenberg of African Union. U

The source continued that Vivian claimed the main points to drive home are that the investigations and reports of the FBI can only be seen by Justice Department and he feels reports are inadequate. U

Identities of Individuals Mentioned:

Randolph T. Blackwell, according to a confidential source in 1953, had been a member of the Communist Party (CP) in the District of Columbia, and another source indicated Blackwell attended a Labor Youth League (cited by the Department of Justice) Convention. U

A confidential source advised in November, 1947, that Cordy T. Vivian was a member of the CP in Peoria, Illinois, and had been active in CP affairs for some time. U

Bayard Rustin, in July, 1964, issues of "The Saturday Evening Post" was said to have gone to New York in 1938 as an organizer for the Young Communist League and as such had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". He reportedly left the Party in 1941. U

## ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT MARTIN LUTHER KING

On November 19, 1962, the "New York Times" quoted King to the effect that the FBI had not done an effective job in Albany, Georgia, and one of the greatest problems with the Bureau in the South was that the Agents were white Southerners. (Actually, four of the five Agents assigned to Albany, Georgia, were Northern born.) With regard to this matter, it was approved that Assistant Directors Sullivan and DeLoach make an appointment with King to straighten him out concerning the unfounded criticism he reportedly had made. U

On November 30, 1962, Mr. DeLoach attempted to reach King by telephone to arrange an interview. The Atlanta operator advised that there was no telephone at the residence usually occupied by King. Then the operator tried to reach King at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta; however, an individual there stated that King was away on two weeks' vacation and could not be reached. Upon being asked if King was near a telephone, this person replied affirmatively but stated King did not wish to be disturbed. U

Mr. DeLoach then called the Atlanta Office and instructed ASAC F. V. Hitt (now on Inspection Staff) to telephonically locate King and tell him (1) that Messrs. DeLoach and Sullivan wanted to sit down with him any time he was in the Washington or New York area; and (2) that the desired conversation did not involve an investigation of King but stemmed from a desire to talk to King. U

b7(c) The Atlanta Office then succeeded in contacting King's secretary on November 30, 1962, and was advised that King was at a "hideaway" writing a book and could not be reached during the week of November 30th. The secretary further advised that the following week King would be traveling in Alabama. The secretary was requested to have King contact the Atlanta Office with regard to an urgent matter; however, King never made this contact. (By letter dated November 20, 1964, SA [REDACTED] has remarked that when he attempted to contact King to make the appointment requested by Mr. DeLoach, King and his staff completely ignored the FBI even though they were told the request to talk to him was a matter of utmost urgency.) U

## OTHER DIFFICULTIES OF ATLANTA OFFICE IN CONTACTING KING

On about July 18 to July 20, 1961, attempts were made to make an appointment with King to interview him in connection with the special inquiry investigation of Theodore Edward Brown for the Peace Corps. On July 19th or July 20th,

King's secretary stated that "Dr. King can see you on Saturday afternoon but you don't work Saturdays, do you?" His secretary was advised that the Agent would be at King's office any time King would be available. A definite appointment was made for 2 p. m. Saturday afternoon, July 22, 1961. The Agent appeared at King's office at approximately 1:50 p. m., where he waited for an hour before being admitted to King's office. King stated he was sorry to keep the Agent waiting but he was behind in his paper work and had completed some of it before admitting the Agent. U

In June, 1962, efforts were made to obtain an appointment with King in connection with a case involving Shirley Blackwell Cummings, a Peace Corps applicant. Beginning on approximately June 5, 1962, King's secretary kept stating that he was not available for interview although it was known to us that he was in his office daily. On June 8, 1962, Wyatt T. Walker, King's assistant, advised the Atlanta Office that he and King were proceeding to Shreveport, Louisiana, in connection with the voter registration drive and that the Little Union Baptist Church in Shreveport had received a bomb threat. At that time, Walker was informed that Agents had been urgently trying to make an appointment with King, and Walker stated an appointment would be made. On June 8, 1962, King telephoned the Atlanta Office from Shreveport to inquire as to why the Agent wanted an appointment and to advise of the bomb threat previously furnished by Walker. King consented to interview which was conducted June 9, 1962. U

After being unable to contact King on July 23, 1962, the Atlanta Office interviewed him the next day in connection with racial incidents at Albany, Georgia, involving alleged violation by King of a temporary restraining order issued by the U. S. District Court to stop demonstrations. The interview was conducted in the U. S. courtroom where King had appeared for a hearing. U

On June 25, 1963, the Atlanta Office attempted to contact King to advise him of a threat against his life. Efforts to contact him were at first unsuccessful, but after a delay of some hours, King's secretary informed him of the Bureau's interest in talking to him and arrangements were made for an Agent to contact King by telephone. (It will be recalled that in connection with other threats against King's life, the Jackson Office was instructed in July, 1964, to provide coverage during King's visit to Mississippi. They performed this assignment in line with a request from the President; and, interestingly, Sheriff Lawrence A. Rainey of Neshoba County, Mississippi, wrote to the Director on July 28th to inquire about the authority by which FBI Agents furnished protection to King during King's visit to Philadelphia, Mississippi, on July 24, 1964. The Bureau recommended that Rainey's letter not be answered, after a copy of it had been received by the White House and subsequently referred to our attention.) U

## FBI ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIELD

Every civil rights complaint is given thorough, prompt and impartial attention. Special Agents handling these cases are highly trained investigators who have completed advanced training courses which qualify them to conduct civil rights investigations. At Bureau Headquarters, a select staff of men with great experience and knowledge of this type of investigation supervise the cases. U

The duty of maintaining law and order in civil rights demonstrations, preserving the peace and protecting life and property is the primary responsibility of local and state law enforcement agencies. The FBI is solely an investigative agency as distinguished from a police agency, and as such, is without authority to maintain the peace or furnish protection. It is the duty of the FBI, however, to furnish factual data to the Department of Justice so that a determination can be made as to whether there is any basis for Federal action under the civil rights statute. U

Our work in the field of civil rights is increasing. In fiscal year 1960, the FBI handled 1,398 civil rights cases. In fiscal year 1963, the number of cases jumped to 2,692 and in fiscal year 1964, it increased to 3,340. U

Although a substantial number of arrests and convictions have resulted from our investigations in these matters, the effectiveness of our work in this field can never be precisely assayed on the basis of such statistics. Perhaps the greatest value of our work in this field lies in the results of our intelligence and liaison programs which can never be traced to direct prosecutive action. We continuously gather information on a day-to-day basis which indicates that some violent action is either being definitely planned or that a situation will occur which has a high potential for violence.\* U

The fact that we vigorously investigate civil rights violations undoubtedly serves as a deterrent to discourage violations U

\*Such information is immediately disseminated to appropriate authorities.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr  
FROM : C. D. DeLoach  
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

DATE: December 1, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-4-80 BY SP-1/BJK/6076

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APPOINTMENT - FBI HEADQUARTERS  
[REDACTED]

b7(c)  
12-1-64.

At his request, I met with [REDACTED]

Upon seeing [REDACTED], I told him I was glad to have the opportunity to get together with him despite the unfair criticism that he and Reverend King had launched against the Director and the FBI during the past several days. I told him I wanted to straighten him out on such criticism. [REDACTED] laughed and replied that he personally had not been guilty of any serious criticism against the FBI and that he hoped that I would understand that he wanted to continue to be friends rather than enemies.

[REDACTED] told me that he had heard from a number of newsmen that the FBI planned to expose Reverend King [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and prevent this action being taken if at all possible. He stated he knew that King had made a sudden decision to come down also and that he hoped that King's meeting with the Director had been an amiable one. I told him that it had been.

I told [REDACTED] that we, of course, had no plan whatsoever to expose Reverend King. I told him that our files were sacred to us and that it would be unheard of for the FBI to leak such information to newsmen. I told him I was completely appalled at the very thought of the FBI engaging in such endeavor. I told [REDACTED] the FBI had received rumors of this nature from a number of sources and that we felt that there obviously was some substance to these rumors. I mentioned [REDACTED] that undoubtedly King has numerous enemies and that most certainly someone had apparently done quite a job on King.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

100-106670-  
NOT RECORDED  
128 DEC 18 1964

CONTINUED - OVER

84 CDD bs 30 (6) 54

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DeLoach to Mohr memo

RE: [REDACTED] b7(c)

[REDACTED] told me that he was glad to hear that the FBI did not plan to expose King. He stated this had a number of civil rights leaders quite worried inasmuch as if King were exposed this would possibly ruin the entire civil rights movement. I again repeated that we had never entertained the idea to expose Reverend King; however, I wanted [REDACTED] to definitely know that the campaign of slander and vilification against the Director and the FBI should stop without any delay. I told him that if this war continued that we, out of necessity, must defend ourselves. I mentioned that I hoped it would not be necessary for the FBI to adopt defensive tactics. [REDACTED] got the point without any difficulty whatsoever. He immediately assured me that there would be no further criticism from him. He stated he felt certain there would be no further criticism from King. b7(c)

[REDACTED]  
b7(c)

[REDACTED] told me that he was greatly relieved to have this conversation.

b7(D) ^ b7(c)  
[REDACTED]

b7(c) reiterated [REDACTED] once again that our door was always open for discussion but that he should definitely keep in mind that if his group wants war they could certainly find it fast. He stated that he wanted to part as friends and that he hoped that we could continue the pleasant relationship that we started over two years ago in New York City in our various discussions. I assured him that this would be possible as long as the unfair criticism did cease.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

John P

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Belmont

DATE: December 16, 1964

W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Last evening, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] while en route from the South, stopped at the National Airport for a couple of hours to discuss with me the subject of Martin Luther King. As I have reported in previous memoranda, he has been informed concerning certain basic facts relating to King [REDACTED] and his connections with communism.

Last night [REDACTED] told me that he has been working on this matter whenever the opportunity presented itself and he said he wanted the FBI to know that steps have been taken by [REDACTED] to make certain from this time on that Martin Luther King will never get "one single dollar" of financial support from [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] told me that since our first conversation he has heard from some other sources concerning King [REDACTED]. In view of this, he felt that he was free to discuss the matter with a few key [REDACTED] clergymen, including [REDACTED] who has been active in the civil rights movement. Naturally, [REDACTED] they were horrified and [REDACTED] said that he could not see how a Christian clergyman could give any more support to a man like King. [REDACTED] also told me this week he intends to confer with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] for the purpose of persuading [REDACTED] that the Negro leaders should completely isolate King and remove him from the role he is now occupying in civil rights activities. In [REDACTED] opinion, the most effective way to dethrone King and get him out of the public eye is to have the important Negro leaders united in their determination to do this.

[REDACTED] in a few weeks will be leaving [REDACTED] will return from there in about 2 or 3 months. I will meet again with him at that time.

As I have previously said, [REDACTED] is a very fine man in every respect. He has a most sensitive

WCS:mls (8)

1-Mr. Belmont; 1-Mr. Mohr;  
1-Mr. DeLoach; 1-Mr. Sullivan;  
1-Mr. D. E. Moore; 1-Mr. J. A. Sizoo;

REC 33

100-166170-636

DEC 22 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

DEC 29 1964

Memo to Mr. Belmont  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

b7(c) conscience and he is a person on whom considerable reliability can be placed. I know the extent of his concern about King and I feel positive that he will try to do as much as he can to remove King from the powerful social position he now occupies. [REDACTED] deplored to me very strongly the fact that King was able to be named "Man of the Year" by "Time" magazine, was the recipient recently of the Nobel Prize, secured an audience with the Pope, and has been the recipient of different awards from both Protestant and Catholic groups. I agreed with him most heartily and said it was too bad those people responsible for giving such recognition to King were not more circumspect. He replied that it was probably due to their lack of knowledge concerning King's communist connections and [REDACTED] but he believes this condition is being corrected, at least among the clergymen.

ACTION:

For information. ✓

W.C.S.  
A

b7

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

~~Secret~~

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach

Tolson  
Belmont  
Mohr  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Evans  
Gale  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 17, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNISTDECLASSIFIED BY SP-5  
ON 6-6-79

Special Agent in Charge Roney, New York Office, telephonically furnished the following information at 8:45 a.m. today (12/17/64). Late last night [redacted] reported that Bayard Rustin suggested to Harry Wachtel that Martin Luther King should ask President Johnson to drop him off in Atlanta when the President is en route to Texas after King visits with Johnson on Friday (presumably tomorrow 12/18/64). Rustin and Wachtel are close advisers to King with subversive past.

## OBSERVATIONS:

The foregoing is the first indication we have had that President Johnson may see King in Washington 12/18/64. It is believed that the President and the Acting Attorney General should have the foregoing information.

## RECOMMENDATION:

Attached for approval are letters to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, and to the Acting Attorney General, with copies for the Deputy Attorney General and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Marshall.

100-106670

Enclosures

Classified  
Exempt from  
Date of Declassification

SUBMITTED

12/21/64

57-23 1504

FILED IN 100-106670-635

18 DEC 23 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-4-80 BY SP4JRM/IL  
6076 DATE: December 2, 1964

TO : Mr. Mohr

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
APPOINTMENT WITH DIRECTOR  
3:35 P.M., 12-1-64

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

At Reverend King's request, the Director met with King; Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Dr. Andrew Young, Executive Assistant to King; and Walter Rautroy, SCLC representative here in Washington, at 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64, in the Director's Office.

I met King and his associates in the hallway outside the Director's Office. An attempt was made to rush them directly through the reception room, however, King slowly posed for the cameras and newsmen before proceeding.

Upon being introduced to the Director, Reverend King indicated his appreciation for Mr. Hoover's seeing him then stated that Reverend Abernathy would speak first. Reverend Abernathy told the Director it was a great privilege to meet the distinguished Director of the FBI--a man who had done so much for his country. Reverend Abernathy expressed the appreciation of the Negro race for the Director's fine work in the field of civil rights. He stated that the Negroes had problems, particularly in the South, and, therefore, had requested a discussion with the Director at the very time their people were continuing to "rise up from their bondage."

Reverend King spoke up. He stated it was vitally necessary to keep a working relationship with the FBI. He wanted to clear up any misunderstanding which might have occurred. He stated that some Negroes had told him that the FBI had been ineffective, however, he was inclined to discount such criticism. Reverend King asked that the Director please understand that any criticism of the Director and the FBI which had been attributed to King was either a misquote or an outright misrepresentation. He stated this particularly concerned Albany, Georgia. He stated that the only time he had ever criticized the FBI was because of instances in which Special Agents who had been given complaints in civil rights cases regarding brutality by police officers were seen the following day being friendly with those same police officers. King stated this, of course, promoted distrust inasmuch as the police sometimes "brutalized" Negroes.

Enclosure - Sent 12/2/64

- |                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1 - Mr. Belmont  | 1 - Miss Gandy  |
| 1 - Mr. Rosen    | 1 - Miss Holmes |
| 1 - Mr. Sullivan | 1 - Mr. Jones   |
|                  | 1 - Mr. Morrell |

18 DEC 21 1964

EDB:sal 20 1964  
(9)

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

Reverend King stated he personally appreciated the great work of the FBI which had been done in so many instances. He stated this was particularly true in Mississippi. He added that FBI developments in that State have been very significant. The FBI is a great restraining influence. Reverend King denied that he had ever stated that Negroes should not report information to the FBI. He said he had actually encouraged such reporting in many instances. He claimed there were good relationships in many communities, especially Atlanta, Georgia, between Negroes and the FBI. He stated he would continue to strongly urge all of his people to work closely with the FBI.

Reverend King stated he has never made any personal attack upon Mr. Hoover. He stated he had merely tried to articulate the feelings of the Negroes in the South in order to keep a tradition of nonviolence rather than violence. He added that the Negro should never be transferred from a policy of nonviolence to one of violence and terror.

Reverend King said that the Director's report to the President this summer on rioting was a very excellent analysis.

Reverend King advised that Negroes are currently laboring under a very frustrating situation. He stated that, "We sometimes are on the verge of temporary despair." He added that it was a challenge and a duty for him to keep the Negro from coming to a boiling point. He stated that sometimes the cries coming from the Negro represent a real feeling of lonesomeness and despair. He, however, has pointed out that the path to success is nonviolence rather than violence.

Reverend King stated he has been, and still is, very concerned regarding the matter of communism in the civil rights movement. He stated he knew that the Director was very concerned because he bore the responsibility of security in the Nation. Reverend King stated that from a strong philosophical point of view he could never become a communist inasmuch as he recognizes this to be a crippling totalitarian disease. He stated that as a Christian he could never accept communism. He claimed that when he learns of the identity of a communist in his midst he immediately deals with the problem by removing this man. He stated there have been one or two communists who were engaged in fund raising for the SCLC. Reverend King then corrected himself to say that these one or two men were former communists and not Party members at the present time. He then identified "Jack O'Dell" as an example. He stated that he had insisted that O'Dell leave his staff because the success of his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was far more important than friendship with O'Dell.

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The Director interrupted King to state that the FBI had learned from long experience that the communists move in when trouble starts. The Director explained that communists thrive on chaos. The Director mentioned that his riot report to the President reflected the opportunistic efforts of communists. He then stated that communists have no interest in the future of the Negro race and that King, of all people, should be aware of this fact. The Director spoke briefly of communist attempts to infiltrate the labor movement.

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Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64

The Director told King and his associates that the FBI shares the same despair which the Negroes suffer when Negro leaders refused to accept the deep responsibility they have in the civil rights movement. He stated that when Negroes are encouraged not to cooperate with the FBI this sometimes frustrates or delays successful solution of investigations. The Director told King that he had personally gone to Mississippi to meet with Governor Paul Johnson inasmuch as there had been practically no liaison between the Department of Justice, the President and the State of Mississippi beforehand. The Director stated that upon meeting Governor Johnson the Governor explained honestly that he was a segregationist, however, abhorred violence. The Director stated that he had told Governor Johnson they had a common meeting ground inasmuch as he was in Mississippi to put an end to violence and brutality. The Director told Governor Johnson that he would like to do this in collaboration with the State Police, however, if the FBI could not receive such cooperation we would do it on our own. The Director then made reference to watermoccasins, rattlesnakes and redneck sheriffs, in that order, who still exist in Mississippi who represent the trashy type of characters who are promoting civil rights violations. The Director told King that we had trained twenty representatives of the Mississippi State Highway Patrol and that this had represented a good move to promote better cooperation and solution of civil rights cases.

The Director told Reverend King that the FBI had put the "fear of God" in the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). He told King that we knew of the identity of the murderers of the three civil rights workers and that these murderers would soon be brought to trial. The Director then spoke of the terror in Mississippi backwoods and of the fact that sheriffs and deputy sheriffs participate in crimes of violence. He summarized by telling King that we, therefore, are under the same strain that sincere Negro leaders are under. The Director added that the KKK constantly damns the FBI and that we have currently been classified as the "Federal Bureau of Integration" in Mississippi.

The Director told King that many cases, which have been brought about as a result of FBI investigation, must be tried in State Court. He spoke of the difficulty in obtaining a verdict of guilty in instances in which white juries are impaneled in cases involving white men. The Director spoke of the KKK involvement in the Lemuel Penn case just outside of Athens, Georgia. He stated this was an outrageous miscarriage of justice in that the defendants, despite the open and shut evidence on the part of the FBI, had been acquitted.

The Director made it clear to Reverend King and his associates that the FBI could not state whether a conviction would be obtained or not in the case involving the murdered three civil rights victims. He stated, however, that the FBI has excellent evidence in this case. The Director then explained that it was most necessary for the FBI not to "jump the gun" unless we had sufficient evidence in which a case could be brought to trial.



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The Director made reference to Reverend King's allegation that the FBI deals or associates with law enforcement officers who have been involved in civil rights violations. He stated emphatically that, "I'll be damned if the FBI has associated with any of these people nor will we be associated with them in the future." The Director explained that the FBI, not only because of the very nature of the law but also because of the background of our investigative employees, was in full sympathy with the sincere aspects of the civil rights movement. He stated that the FBI constantly needs cooperation and assistance in order to solve cases. He added that he made it a point, several years ago, to transfer northern Special Agents to southern offices. He stated that, for the most part, northern-born Agents are assigned civil rights cases in the South. The Director added that he feels that our Special Agents, regardless of where they are born, will investigate a case impartially and thoroughly. He mentioned, however, that it was unfair to the Agent and the FBI to "have a strike against him" in that criticism had been leveled over the fact that southern Agents would not give Negroes a "fair shake." The Director stated that such criticism was entirely unjustifiable and that no case had ever been brought to our attention proving such a fact.

The Director made reference to the recent case in McComb, Mississippi, in which nine men had been charged with burning churches and violence against Negroes. He stated this again was a miscarriage of justice. He added that the judge's decision in releasing the defendants because they had learned their lesson and were merely youths was entirely wrong and that it caused some people to question where youth really began. He explained that some of the defendants had been in their 40's. The Director added that a deal probably, of course, had been made, however, this would certainly not represent any deterrent to future actions of violence by these men.

The Director explained that there is a great misunderstanding today among the general public and particularly the Negro race as to what the FBI can and cannot do in the way of investigations. The Director emphasized that the FBI cannot recommend prosecution or declination of prosecution. He stated that Agents cannot make "on the spot" arrests. He stated that the FBI merely investigates and then the Department of Justice determines whether prosecution be entertained or not. The Director added that the question is sometimes raised why prosecution is not scheduled sooner. He stated this, of course, was not the responsibility of the FBI in any way whatsoever. He pointed out that our civil rights investigations are conducted in a very thorough and expeditious manner once the Department has authorized such investigations.

The Director spoke of the FBI's successful penetration of the KKK. He stated that the FBI has interviewed all members of the KKK in Mississippi and has served notice to these members that if trouble occurs we plan to come to them first. He stated our penetration of the KKK has been as successful as the manner in which we infiltrated the communists and the Soviet espionage services. He stated that our progress in infiltrating the KKK has been so rapid that Klan members now suspect each other and are fighting among themselves. The Director mentioned that we have two confessions in the killing of the three civil rights workers. He added that the Klan in Mississippi has failed to meet for some time because the members of this organization are apprehensive

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as to the identity of FBI informants in their midst. The Director stated he had personally been an enemy of the KKK for a long time.

He spoke of the FBI's case in Louisiana in the late 1920's in which FBI evidence successfully culminated in the conviction of the top Klan leader. He stated the KKK fully concentrated on Negroes, Jews and Catholics, however, concentration now is strictly on the Negro race.

The Director told the group that in the Lemuel Penn case the defendants have recently been indicted and are to stand trial in Federal Court. He stated the trial would begin sometime next week. He mentioned that the same defendants were responsible for beating Negroes and participation in other acts of violence. The Director added that the FBI's success in infiltrating the KKK has been so extensive that we now sometimes know in advance what the KKK plans to do and take preventive measures accordingly.

The Director explained that in Alabama the FBI cannot deal with the Highway Patrol because of the psychoneurotic tendencies of the Alabama Governor. He stated that the State of Georgia has a good Governor and that the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, while not comparable to the Mississippi Highway Patrol, has cooperated with the FBI.

The Director told Reverend King and his associates that FBI representatives have held several thousand law enforcement conferences in which southern police officers have been educated as to civil rights legislation. He stated this has clearly assisted law enforcement, particularly the FBI, however, admittedly, this represents slow progress, but progress nevertheless. He added that this educational campaign will be continued and that it will eventually take hold. The Director gave the example of a Mississippi Sheriff who recently broke a case as a result of FBI training.

The Director made it very clear to Reverend King and his associates that FBI Agents conduct very thorough interviews in civil rights cases. He stated he would like to know immediately if any of our Special Agents ever act in a supercilious manner or if they mishandle a complaint regarding civil rights. He stated that if the facts reflect that our Agent is in the wrong he will be called on the carpet fast. The Director asked that Reverend King or any of his representatives feel free to call the FBI at any time they have such complaints.

The Director told Reverend King he desired to give him some advice. He stated that one of the greatest things the Negro leaders could accomplish would be to encourage voting registration among their people. Another thing would be to educate their people in the skills so that they could compete in the open market. The Director mentioned several professions in which Negroes could easily learn skills. The Director also told King he wanted him to know that registrars in the South were now more careful in their actions. He stated that there were less attempts now to prevent Negroes from

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registering inasmuch as the FBI is watching such actions very carefully. The Director told Reverend King that the FBI was making progress in violations regarding discrimination in eating places. He gave as a specific example a restaurant in Atlanta, Georgia, in which surveillances have taken place to ascertain if out-of-state cars are being served at this particular restaurant. The Director stated he personally was in favor of equality in eating places and in schools. He stated emphatically, however, he was not in favor of taking Negro children 10 or 12 miles across town simply because their parents wanted them to go to a school other than those in their specific neighborhood.

The Director told Reverend King that in due time there will be a complete change in the mores of community thinking in the United States regarding the racial problem. He stated that meanwhile the FBI will continue to handle its responsibilities in a thorough and impartial manner. He reiterated that the FBI cannot encourage prosecution in Federal Court despite the fact that some local courts cannot be trusted. He added that some judges cannot be trusted.

The Director praised the Georgia papers that declared the verdict of the Penn case to be a travesty of justice. He added that the Jackson, Mississippi, papers had contained several editorials deploring violence against Negroes and participation in church burnings. The same editorials declared this was no way to solve racial problems. The Director stated that his statements made at a press conference in Jackson, Mississippi, this summer to the effect that he was in Mississippi to see to it that an end was put to the violence of bombings and burning churches had had some affect upon backwoods terrorists.

The Director told King that he wanted to make it very clear that the question is often raised as to whether the FBI will protect civil rights workers or Negroes. He stated that he has in the past and will continue to answer such questions on the basis that the FBI does not have the authority nor the jurisdiction to protect anyone. He stated that when the Department of Justice desires that Negroes be protected this is the responsibility of U. S. Marshals. The Director reiterated that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency and cannot and will not extend itself beyond legislated jurisdiction. The Director repeated very emphatically that while our investigations are very definitely thorough and impartial he wanted to state once again that if Reverend King or any of his associates ever knew of a Special Agent showing bias or prejudice he wanted to know about this matter immediately.

The Director explained that we have civil rights cases not only in the South but also in the northern cities. He gave examples of New York and Chicago. He stated that there have been some cases in Miami, Florida.

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The Director spoke once again of the necessity of the Negro educating himself in order to compete in manual and professional skills. He mentioned the example of a shoeshine boy in Miami, Florida, who turned out to be, after questioning by the Director, a graduate of Howard University. This shoeshine boy, a Negro, explained to the Director that he could not get a job above the level of shoeshine boy because of the color of his skin. The Director stated this, of course, was wrong and that under no circumstances did he, or anyone in the FBI, share the opinion that the Negro, or any other race, should be kept down. The Director spoke of his pride in Negro Agents and particularly mentioned Special Agent Aubrey Lewis, the former Notre Dame track star who is currently assigned to the New York Division.

The Director spoke of a Miami Special Agent who was transferred to that Office from St. Louis. This Agent explained to the Director on one occasion that he was first a little upset about being transferred to Miami because he felt that his race would be against him. He stated, however, much to his surprise, that the white people in Miami treated him with the greatest of courtesy while people of his own race referred to him as a "fink" simply because he was a representative of law enforcement.

Reverend King interrupted the Director at this point and asked if this same Negro Agent is still assigned to the Miami Division. The Director replied in the affirmative. The Director stated that at a recent dinner Father Hesburgh, the President of Notre Dame University, explained to the Director that his institution had difficulty getting Negroes on the football team because their grades were never high enough. The Director told Reverend King the same thing is true of Negroes who apply for the position of Special Agent. He stated in most instances they lack the qualifications, however, we were very happy to hire any Negro who was qualified for the position. The Director told Reverend King that we, of course, could not let down our qualifications simply because of the color of a person's skin.

The Director told Reverend King and his associates that the problems that he and the Negro leaders have is a mutual problem. He stated in most instances in civil rights matters we have learned that "you are damned if you do and you are damned if you don't." The Director stated nevertheless the FBI would continue to do its job. He stated that we additionally are very proud of 10 or 11 Indian Special Agents and of a number of Special Agents who have Mexican blood in them. He stated that the color of a man's skin makes no difference to the FBI whatsoever, however, we do merit the cooperation and assistance of all groups and it is most unfair when these groups are taught not to cooperate with the FBI.

The Director mentioned that he wanted to make it very plain that the FBI will not tolerate any of our personnel being slapped around. He gave an example of the Lombardozzi case in New York where one of our Agents was jumped by five hoodlums outside a church. He stated these hoodlums were immediately taught a lesson. The Director mentioned that in the war with hoodlums, for every man we lose we make certain, through legal means of course, that the hoodlums lose the same number or more.

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The Director proudly spoke of the ability of Agents to outshoot and outfight hoodlums and other individuals who attempted to take advantage of our personnel. He stated the KKK is afraid to "mix" with our Agents. He mentioned that the Klan was "yellow." He stated they are brave as long as they have the majority with them but afraid when they face an equal number.

The Director spoke of the Mack Charles Parker case in Poplarville, Mississippi. He stated that our evidence in this case had been turned over to Governor Coleman, the then Governor of that State. He mentioned that Governor Coleman was a decent type of individual who had immediately seen to it that a State Court received the evidence contributed by the FBI. The Director mentioned that our evidence in this case was excellent, however, the Grand Jury refused to indict the subjects involved in the lynching of Parker.

The Director told Reverend King that in many instances our Agents have been spit upon, they have been refused food and lodging and many things are done to thwart hard-hitting investigations by the FBI. He stated that nevertheless we continue to gather evidence in an expeditious and thorough manner.

Reverend Abernathy stated that the Negroes have a real problem in tearing down the current system of segregated voting tests in the South. He stated it was most important that there be kept alive in the Negro communities a ray of hope. He stated that the Negro people should not be allowed to fall into an atmosphere of despair.

The Director explained that this was a very important point. He stated that real progress has been made in higher wages, voting registration and housing matters. The Director pointed out, however, that such progress has not been emphasized by the rabblers who constantly attempt to stir up the Negroes against the whites. The Director gave as an example the communist, Epton, in New York City. The Director stated that Epton is sometimes pointed to as a person the Negro should emulate because of his militancy. The Director stated this was wrong and it is also wrong to "mislead" Negroes.

Reverend Abernathy stated that the SCLC does not want Negroes like Epton in their movement. He stated that Reverend King, more than anyone else, has prevented people like Epton and the Muslims from taking over the civil rights movement. Reverend Abernathy stated that actually the Negroes are a part of the Federal Government, therefore, anything that represents the Federal Government is an encouragement to the Negro. He added that even the side of a post office building or a Federal courtroom is an encouragement to the Negro. He mentioned that when a Negro receives information that a case in which he has been brutally mistreated is going to Federal Court he feels encouraged over the fact that he will get a fair trial. Reverend Abernathy continued that the same problem is true when a Negro sees an FBI Agent. He stated that the Negro feels open encouragement inasmuch as the FBI will not only fairly handle his case but will serve as a great deterrent to violence.

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The Director stated that the KKK today is represented by common white trash. He stated that the Klan was actually worse than the Communist Party inasmuch as the Klan resorts to violence while the communists usually emulate termites in their activities.

The Director reiterated that King and his associates should feel free to call him at any time when they have knowledge of possible civil rights violations. King replied that over the past few years he has noted amazing signs of progress in the civil rights field. He stated he has been very surprised to see some communities comply with the new civil rights statutes. He stated there still are some pockets of resistance particularly in the South. He added that the SCLC is planning to stimulate voting registration activities in Selma, Alabama, in the near future. He mentioned that some members of his organization have been successful in infiltrating this white community and have learned there is a great potential for violence, in Selma.

The Director interrupted King and briefly detailed five cases in which the FBI has gathered evidence in Selma, Alabama. The Director identified these cases fully, and specifically the case against Sheriff James Clark. The Director mentioned that these cases came about as a result of FBI investigation and that we were continuing our investigations in Selma, Alabama. He mentioned that one case would come to trial on December 9, 1964. The Director particularly made reference to the fact that we have three excellent cases in Selma at the present time.

Reverend King inquired as to whether his representatives should notify the FBI when they arrive in Selma, Alabama. He quickly corrected himself that he knew his representatives should contact the FBI upon arrival, however, he asked the Director what would be the possibilities of FBI Agents being in Selma, Alabama, inasmuch as there appeared to be a potential for violence. The Director specifically asked Reverend King when his activities would take place. Reverend Abernathy indicated such activity would take place around January 1, 1965. The Director clearly explained that FBI Agents would be in Selma, not for the purpose of "protecting" anyone, but for the purpose of observing and reporting to the Department of Justice any possible violations of civil rights that might occur. Reverend King expressed appreciation in this regard.

Reverend King stood up and stated he wished to express his personal thanks for a most fruitful and necessary meeting. The Director told Reverend King that he should get in touch with us at anytime he felt it was necessary.

Reverend King mentioned that there were representatives of the press in the Director's reception room. He turned to me and asked if the FBI planned to make any comment regarding the meeting. I told him that the Director had instructed that we make no comment whatsoever. Reverend King asked the Director if there would be any objections if he read a short prepared statement to the press. The Director told Reverend King this, of course, was up to him.

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Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64

In proceeding to the reception room, Reverend King pulled out a press release, hand-written in ink, out of his right coat pocket. This press release obviously had been prepared prior to the time Reverend King arrived at FBI Headquarters. A previous memorandum has been sent through reporting verbatim the comments by King in the Director's reception room.

ACTION:

It is suggested that the attached letter be sent to the President concerning the meeting between the Director, Reverend King and his associates.

G.K.  
H

The General Investigative Division, Civil Rights Section, should take due note of the proposed activities in Selma, Alabama, and should instruct the appropriate office to make certain that Agents are on hand to observe activities in Selma, Alabama, on or around January 1, 1965.

Handled by  
advis to 110  
12-10-64  
CWM/cac

yes.  
JH JAM P ✓

December 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-4-90 BY SP4 JAM/IK  
6076

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

My dear Mr. President:

In response to his request to see me, I conferred for about an hour with the Reverend Martin Luther King in my office yesterday afternoon. He was accompanied by the following members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which he is President: Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, Treasurer; Andrew J. Young, Program Director; and Walter E. Fauntroy, Director of the organization's Washington, D. C., office.

The meeting was most amicable and King indicated that he had requested to see me in an effort to clear up any misunderstandings that we might have. He apologized for remarks attributed to him criticizing the FBI and me with specific reference to Albany, Georgia. He stated that in this connection he had either been misquoted or there had been an outright misrepresentation.

He said that while some Negroes have complained to him that the FBI has been ineffective in investigating civil rights violations, he personally discounts such complaints and said he appreciated the fine work the FBI has been doing in this regard.

He said he had been critical of the FBI only in connection with instances where our Agents, who had been furnished complaints involving police brutality, were, thereafter, observed

1 - Mr. Belmont (Sent with cover memo)	1 - Miss Gandy (Sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Mohr	1 - Miss Holmes (Sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Rosen (Sent with cover memo)	1 - Mr. Jones (Sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Sullivan (Sent with cover memo)	1 - Mr. Morrell (Sent with cover memo)

NOTE: See DeLoach to Mohr Memo of same date, captioned "Martin Luther King Appointment with Director, 3:35 p.m., 12/2/64"

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The President

being friendly toward these same officers. He said situations like this serve to breed Negro distrust for the FBI. I advised Reverend King that I was aware that allegations of this nature had been made and that I had looked into the matter. It was determined that these charges were without basis.

Reverend King categorically denied ever having made a personal attack on me and also denied that he had ever instructed Negroes not to cooperate with the FBI. I told him that when Negroes are encouraged not to cooperate with the FBI, the solution of cases is delayed and sometimes frustrated. He said, to the contrary, he encouraged such cooperation. He explained that Negroes in many areas are frustrated. He said he feels it is his duty to keep them from expressing their frustrations through violence. Reverend King made reference to my report to you on the rioting that took place in some of our northern cities last summer. He indicated he considers it an excellent analysis of the situation.

Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement was discussed. Reverend King stated that as a Christian he could never accept communism and that he shared my concern with the problem. He described communism as a "crippling, totalitarian disease." He said that while there are "one or two" former communists currently engaged in fund-raising activities for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, he does not tolerate communists in his organization. He cited the communist background of Hunter Pitts O'Dell and noted that he considered the success of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference more important to him than his friendship with O'Dell. Consequently, he claimed, O'Dell is no longer associated with his organization.

**The President**

The problems confronting the FBI in civil rights investigations were explained to the Reverend King in detail. I made it clear to him that cases developed as a result of FBI investigation must often be tried in local courts where there are difficulties involved in getting white juries to convict white defendants in connection with civil rights matters. I cited some of our experiences in this regard.

He and his associates were advised of the recent conferences held for local law enforcement officers throughout the United States for the purpose of fully acquainting them with civil rights legislation and their responsibilities in connection with same. I told him that the results of this campaign have been encouraging in the cooperation received.

I pointed out to him that there is a great misunderstanding today among the general public and particularly the Negro race as to the FBI's role in civil rights matters. I emphasized that the FBI is an investigative agency, that it cannot recommend prosecution or make on-the-spot arrests where Federal laws have not been violated. He was advised that the FBI will not protect civil rights workers or Negroes because the FBI does not have the authority or jurisdiction to do so. He was also advised that the FBI cannot and will not exceed its authority. Reverend King was told that our investigations are conducted in a thorough and impartial manner, but if he or any of his associates knew of a Special Agent who had shown bias or prejudice, I wanted to know about it immediately.

Reverend King indicated that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is planning to engage in voter registration activities in Selma, Alabama, on or about January 1, 1965, and that he has learned that there could be violence. I told him that our Agents would be on the scene, not for the purpose of rendering protection, but to observe and report to the Department of Justice any possible violations of civil rights that may occur.

**The President**

Reverend King expressed his gratitude for having the opportunity to meet me. He said he felt our meeting had been a productive one, and I told him to feel free to get in touch with me any time he thought it necessary to do so.

Respectfully submitted,